

Message Text

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CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH MUZOREWA

LONDON EYES ONLY FOR UNDER SEC ROGERS FR AF-SCHAUFEELE

1. I MET WITH BISHOP MUZOREWA IN NEW YORK FOR ABOUT 75 MINUTES. I FOUND HIM GUARDED AND NOT VERY ARTICULATE, IN PART PERHAPS DELIBERATELY. GENERALLY THE APPROACH I USED WAS TO ASK HIM GENERAL QUESTIONS IN AN EFFORT TO GET HIM TO BRING UP THE POINTS ON WHICH I WANTED HIS VIEWS, E.G. HIS REACTION TO THE CALLAGHAN PLAN AND HOW IT COULD BE REALIZED, WHETHER A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION WAS POSSIBLE IN HIS OPINION, THE RELATIONS AMONG THE VARIOUS LIBERATION GROUPS, ATTITUDES AMONG THE WHITE POPULATION IN RHODESIA, ETC.

2. REGARDING OUR OWN EFFORTS I MERELY INFORMED HIM THAT WE WERE ENGAGED IN AN INTENSIVE CONSULTATION PROCESS WHICH INCLUDED BLACK AFRICAN LEADERS, SOUTH AFRICA, AND THE UNITED KINGDOM TO SEE IF THERE WAS A WAY TO ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION BEFORE VIOLENCE GOT OUT OF HAND.

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3. ESSENTIALLY I GLEAN THE FOLLOWING ATTITUDES FROM THIS

DISCUSSION.

A) AS A FORM OF TRANSITION THE RESUMPTION OF BRITISH
AUTHORITY WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE, ALTHOUGH THE LENGTH OF THE

TRANSITION PERIOD WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT ABOUT
WHICH THE LIBERATION GROUPS MIGHT DIFFER AMONG THEMSELVES.
HE THOUGHT THE LIBERATION ARMY COULD ACCEPT IT AS WELL.

B) HE HAD READ THE REPORTS ABOUT GUARANTEES FOR THE
WHITES AND HAD NO OBJECTION TO THE CONCEPT SUBJECT TO
GREATER KNOWLEDGE ABOUT WHAT MIGHT ACTUALLY BE PROPOSED.
HE POINTED OUT THAT WHITES COULD OWN UP TO 50,000 ACRES OF
PROPERTY AND BLACKS ONLY EIGHT, IMPLYING THAT WHITES
SHOULD NOT BE ABLE TO PROFIT FROM THEIR UNIQUELY ADVAN-
TAGEOUS POSITION UP TO NOW. HOWEVER, HE ALSO STRESSED
HIS CONTINUALLY EXPRESSED DESIRE TO CONSTRUCT A MULTI-
RACIAL SOCIETY IN ZIMBABWE.

C) HE SAID THAT HE WILL BE MAKING A MAJOR EFFORT TO
ACHIEVE NATIONALIST UNITY BOTH, BY IMPLICATION, TO COUNTER
SMITH'S EXPLOITATION OF THEIR DIVISION TO DELAY AND TO
PRECLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF RADICAL ELEMENTS TAKING OVER
IN AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE.

4. TOWARD THE END OF THE CONVERSATION HE ASKED ME WHAT WE
KNEW ABOUT THE SITUATION INSIDE RHODESIA. I SAID THAT WE
HAD VERY LITTLE INFORMATION, THERE IS NO US PRESENCE
THERE, AND WE HAVE NO DIRECT CONTACT. IT GRADUALLY
EMERGED THAT HE WAS REALLY CONCERNED THAT WE MIGHT IMPOSE
SOMEONE -- PRESUMABLY N'KOMO -- AS THE GOVERNMENT WITHOUT
REGARD TO THE WISHES OF THE MAJORITY.

5. I SAID WHO THE ZIMBABWEANS CHOSE TO GOVERN THEM WAS
THEIR OWN DECISION. OUR EFFORTS WERE DIRECTED TOWARD
ESTABLISHING A SITUATION IN WHICH THEY WOULD BE ABLE TO
MAKE THAT DECISION. I REMINDED HIM OF YOUR OWN PUBLIC
STATEMENTS AND TESTIMONY SUPPORTING THE CONCEPT OF UNIFIED
MOVEMENTS SO THAT AFRICANS COULD MAKE THEIR OWN DECISIONS.
OUR INTEREST LAY IN SOLVING THE PROBLEM SO THAT A MODERATE
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GOVERNMENT, INDEPENDENT OF OUTSIDE DOMINATION, COULD
EMERGE TO BUILD ON THE CONSIDERABLE STRUCTURE WHICH
ALREADY EXISTED IN RHODESIA.

6. HE APPEARED TO ACCEPT THIS AND SAID ONCE AGAIN, AS HE
HAD AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CONVERSATION, THAT IF A NEGO-
TIATED SOLUTION WERE TO BE ACHIEVED IT MUST BE DONE
QUICKLY. I CLOSED BY STATING THAT THE US BELIEVES THE

EFFORT MUST BE MADE EVEN THOUGH IT WILL BE DIFFICULT AND SUCCESS WAS NOT GUARANTEED.

7. COMMENT: MUZOREWA, AT THIS MEETING, WAS NOT IMPRESSIVE AND CERTAINLY NOT A POLITICIAN, WHICH MAY ACCOUNT FOR HIS RECENT PROPENSITY TO RELY ON LESS MODERATE POLITICIANS

WHOSE IDEAS HE DOES NOT WHOLLY SHARE. HIS ATTITUDES -- MORE DIVINED THAN EXPRESSED -- ARE COMPATIBLE WITH WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO DO. BUT IT IS UNCERTAIN AS TO WHAT HE CAN DO TO HELP ACHIEVE IT.

8. WHEN HE BURST ON THE RHODESIAN SCENE FIVE YEARS AGO, HE WAS ABLE TO PLACE HIMSELF ABOVE ALL POLITICAL GROUPS AND HAD CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS IN PROJECTING AN IMAGE AS THE ONLY MAN WHO APPEALED TO ALL GROUPS. HE HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO MAINTAIN THAT POSITION, BUT I HAVE THE FEELING HE WILL NOW TRY TO REESTABLISH IT. THE ODDS ARE AGAINST THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCCESS, IN MY OPINION.

9. NEVERTHELESS, HE IS STILL PARTISAN ENOUGH TO BE WORRIED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF OUR SUPPORT FOR ONE FACTION. WE CAN EXPECT TO BE THE SUBJECT OF SUSPICION IN THIS REGARD.

10. IN SUM, A USEFUL CONVERSATION BUT NOT VERY ENLIGHTENING. IT TENDS TO CONFIRM FOR ME THE GENERAL CORRECTNESS OF OUR PRESENT COURSE. WHEN I TRIED TO ELICIT FROM HIM AN IDEA OF HIS TRAVEL PLANS, I GOT NOWHERE EXCEPT FOR THE STATEMENT THAT "OUR HEADQUARTERS IS IN LUSAKA." CERTAINLY IF WE HAVE TO BE IN TOUCH WITH HIM AGAIN, MY INCLINATION IS NOT TO PASS ANY SUBSTANCE THROUGH HIS SUBORDINATES WHO ARE A MIXED AND UNCERTAIN QUALITY. HABIB

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